RESOLUTION RE. STEPS TO START DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND BRING AN END TO PRESENT SITUATION IN PUNJAB

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:—

> "Having regard to the fact that the situation in Punjab is continuously deteriorating and there is an urgent need to bring about normalcy there, this House is of opinion that it is imperative to effect basic changes in the present policy and priorities in relation thereto and, accordingly, recommends to Government to hold wide ranging discussions with all political parties at the national level with a view to evolving a meaningful plan to start democratic process in the State and to bring to an end the present situation."

Sir, at the outset I would like to mention that this Resolution is somewhat at variance with the Resolution that I had personally suggested. ..*(Interruptions)*... Sir, I have said that the House expresses its concern at the continued deterioration of the situation in Punjab in the two years of the President's rule; to bring about normalcy there is a need to carry out basic changes in the present policy and practices; this House recommends that wide-ranging discussions should be held at the national level with all political parties to evolve a meaningful plan to start democratic processes in the State and end the present Police raj. Sir, I shall not quibble about the changes and I accept the resolution read first. Now I wish to make a few introductory remarks.

The ever-increasing violence and turmoil in Punjab since 1982 has created a sense of concern and foreboding in the entire country. The geo-political importance of this State greatly adds to this concern. I feel that the concept of Khalistan has been bandied about so extensively in the press and the electronic media that it has made it virtually impossible to analyze this problem rationally and objectively. And our none-too-friendly relations with Pakistan and Pakistan's active, covert support to the terrorists has further clouded our perceptions.

I suggest, we may consider this problem under the following terms. First, whether the fear about the threat to the integrity of the country is well-founded. Next, did the demand for Khalistan ever have the support of the majority of the Sikhs in India or is it just the creation of a few romantic and fundamentalist or unscrupulous leaders? Has the Government handled this vital issue with a sense of responsible sensitivity and objective competence or subordinated it to subserve the partisan political ends ? Lastly, can and how should this seemingly intractable situation be resolved now?

Rightly or wrongly the Sikhs feel that both Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had promised them a special status in the Punjab, which the Government did not honour. They had to agitate for it time and again and till today they have not had a fair deal. This really is the bedrock of the problem.

Since independence there is a long history of confrontation between the Akali Party and the Central Government i.e. the Congress party for political power in the Punjab. Whenever the Akali Party came into power, which was normally with the

help of the Jan Sangh in Punjab, the Congress party always managed to sabotage it by manipulating the more ambitious and selfish Sikh leaders. Prolonged morchas on the language issue and for creating a Punjabi Suba as a unilingual State brought about an atmosphere of hostility which was further accentuated during the Emergency as the Akalis continued to agitate against it. There was, however, much greater cordiality during the Janta regime during 1977 and 1979. The loss of election in 1980 both at the Centre and in the State...

SHRI DARBARA SINGH (Punjab): Sir, I would just like to say a word about this resolution. The Sub-Committee of the Cabinet is meeting today all the Members who want to meet them and the leaders of the Opposition.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PERSONNEL, PUBLIC GRIEVANCES AND PENSIONS AND THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM) : I think Gen. Aurora is also attending.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: May I carry on?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : You carry on. This has nothing to do with it.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: The loss of election in 1980 both at the Centre and in the State came as a rude shock to the Akali Party. To win back the masses, a communal posture was adopted and a Dharma Yudh was launched, even though most demands were secular. Another factor that had a great bearing was the association of Sant Bhindranwale. Originally brought into prominence by the Congress to counter the Akali Dal influence in the villages, he subsequently...

SHRI DARBARA SINGH : Is this to be allowed?

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh) : He is narrating facts.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is all right. It is a private Member's Resolution.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : I think I will carry on. Subsequently, differences with the Congress led him to move into the Golden Temple complex to fight his own battle. His active association with the Dharma Yudh hampered the Akali Party from seeking cooperation of the Hindus in Punjab, who were in favour of the secular demands such as Chandigarh as a capital and special riparian rights as a riparian State. It was during this agitation that the concept of Khalistan started being bandied about in the Press. It is true that people like Jagjit Singh Chauhan and others living abroad had been talking about Khalistan before, but no one had taken them seriously. It was dismissed as a romantic and impractical dream of the Sikhs living abroad. No responsible leader, not even Bhindranwale, demanded it during the agitation. Handling of Akali Dal agitation during 1982 and 1984 by the State and the Central Government was ill-conceived, inept and poorly conducted. Narrow and immediate political considerations prevailed over long range national interests. Had Rajiv-Longowal type of accord been arrived at before Operation Blue Star, the history of Punjab would have been totally different. The terrorist menace could have been nipped in the bud. Finally, the Blue Star operation was ill-conceived, ill-timed and badly conducted. No thought was given to the likely fall out. No stratagem and finesse was used to save casualties and damage to the complex. Apart from material loss, it has left an indelible hurt on the Sikh mind. The Government's action after

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Operation Blue Star was even more damaging. Electronic media was extensively used to malign the Sikh community as a whole. Virtual Army rule prevailed in Punjab for months. Villages were searched ruthlessly and rudely. People were treated with scant consideration. Many more young men turned terrorists as a result and "Khalistan" idea gained ground.

The regrettable assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi by two of her security guards was deliberately communalised and the whole Sikh community was blamed for it. The Sikhs living outside Punjab who had played no role in the events in Punjab were not spared. They were killed in thousands and burnt alive and their women were dishonoured and property pillaged and their women dishonoured * while the administration stood aside.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, there is a limit to making these charges. How can Gen. Aurora say that thousands were killed, women dishonoured.*

If we have to sit here and listen to this, we will listen to this. We will abide by your direction. I think we should try writing fiction rather than making...(*Interruptions*) ....

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : This is absolutely true. I stand by it every time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): * will not go on record.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: It is absolutely true. It is within my own knowledge. It is no use your saying that; it is my own knowledge...(*Interruptions*)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Not unparliamentary but to say that * is not in good taste.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): If this is not to the liking of the Congress (I), the whole Treasury Branches are here. They can reply to it. ..(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am objecting to it because I think if you want to have a really...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: But they can deny the charge.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: All right, we will make any charge and you deny. That is the level of debate you want in Parliament. Let us make a charge and you deny. That is all. The charge and denial is taken care of.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): * will not go on record. I cannot allow it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: We must have a serious debate and meaningful debate. At 5 O'clock we have called the Opposition parties. This is the kind of tone you want to set?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Without any basis if anybody alleges that* (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA : Gen. Aurora has taken responsibility for that.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: He is standing by it.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am speaking the truth.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Taking responsibility for what?

*Not recorded.

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA: For what he is saying. ...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am all for an informed and decent debate, but it cannot be one-sided.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, will the hon. Members kindly give me one minute to explain my objection? I want this debate to be a serious debate because at 5 O'clock we have called all Opposition leaders and I do not think the atmosphere should be vitiated by charges and counter-charges. You are right when you say: "Yes, an hon. Member of Parliament is entitled to stand up in Parliament and make a charge and I may stand up and deny it." Now is that the tone you want to set up for the debate? We on this side will stand up and make all kinds of charges. You will deny it. You will make charges, we will deny it. Is that the debate you want? ...(*Interruptions*)...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): All sorts of charges have been levelled...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: If the Minister, Mr. P. Chidambaram can assure us that this will be the level of debate or code of behaviour from his side not only today but on all major issues in times to come, then, we are prepared to abide by it, but it cannot be one-side. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I am grateful to Mr. Sinha for impliedly admitting that this is not the standard which is expected in Parliament. He wants me to assure that from this side, we will not make such charges. I assure you we will not make such charges. I do not believe we make such charges. Anyway, we will not make such charges.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am sorry, I am not prepared to withdraw these words because I am fully convinced of what I am saying... (*Interruptions*)....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Let us talk about future now. (*Interruptions*)...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA... levelling allegations against other parties. (*Interruptions*)...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I would like to repeat that they were killed in thousands, burnt alive, their women dishonoured and their properties pillaged by Congress —organised mobs while the administration stood aside. (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DARBARA SINGH: We will have to reply to each and every word...(*Interruptions*)...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I will provide the basis.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Please provide it now. Tell us who organised the mob and where? (*Interruptions*)...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I will provide the basis. Let me carry on. When you get up and challenge it, I will provide the basis. ..(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: I am challenging you on that...(*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Then you can challenge me later.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Aurora, please do not vitiate the atmosphere.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: It would be unrealistic to ignore or under-estimate the impact of these two tragic happenings in 1984. These are sustaining the committed militants. These have elevated Bhindranwale as a martyr in the eyes of many people. These have also given some emotional relevance to Khalistan. Mercifully, ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It is his view. *(Interruption)*.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Let me say more expressly. Mercifully, the majority of Sikh population neither approves of violence nor is it in favour of Khalistan. However, all are extremely hurt and upset by these happenings and have lost faith in the Government to give them justice and equitable treatment.

After the killings of November 1984, the administration showed little sympathy and provided inadequate relief. The Prime Minister was most reluctant to order a commission of inquiry. His regrettable remark at a rally on 19th November 1984 was: "When a big tree falls, the earth must shake". He chose to use the Anandpur Sahib resolution as an anti-national document for winning the December 1984 elections, but organisations like Nagrik Ekta Manch —this is by proof—PUC and PUDR and others valiantly came to the defence of the victims and squarely blamed those who are responsible and these were the organisations that brought about sanity. It was public opinion voiced by print media that forced the Prime Minister to institute a commission of enquiry under Justice Ranganath Mishra in April 1985 which did not start functioning till the end of July 1985. The terms of reference placed the onus on the victims to prove who were guilty. Once again, good samaritans like Retd. Chief Justice Sikri, Justice Tarkunde and many other legal luminaries agreed to form an organisation called "Citizens' Justice Committee" to present the case of the victims to the Commission. The working of the Commission left much to be desired. The Committee had to decide to withdraw before it ended. The Misra report, though an eye-wash, perforce had to accept that some Congressmen...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Will you please allow one minute for me? Your resolution is so noble. It is a very good resolution. If you speak on his, rather than going into the past, it will be far better. The resolution is so good that if it is discussed and some specific suggestions are made...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: I am going to make them. If you let me carry on, I have suggestions to make. But I must give you the background. I will make suggestions. This is the first time that I am really getting an opportunity to bring it to the right perspective. And everybody is getting worked up rather than listening to me. I am very serious and I am not trying to malign people. I assure you. The Misra report, though an eye-wash, perforce had to accept that some Congressmen were involved in the killings and the police performance was reprehensible. It is given in the report. It recommended that two panels should be constituted to further enquire in to the conduct of the Congressmen who, he considered, were responsible, as well as the conduct of the policemen. Two committees were set up but given little support or help to function effectively. Nothing much has materialised as the Government's covert policy continues to protect the wrong-doers. The Prime Minister's recent concern to punish the guilty does not ring true.

The Rajiv-Longowal accord in July 1985 raised high hopes and people felt that it was the beginning of the end. Sant Longowal's assassination in August caused universal anguish, but the successful State Assembly election in September 1985 revived much optimism. It was felt that the extremists had been marginalised. The optimism proved to be shortlived when Chandigarh was not transferred to Punjab as provided in the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Strains developed in the Akali party and the extremists gained ground. Mr. Barnala's action to oust the extremists from the Golden Temple on 30th April with the help of police and a commando force, caused an open split in the Akali Legislative Party which left Mr. Barnala at the mercy of the Congress party. When the second Commission under Justice Venkataramaiah opined that Chandigarh should be transferred to Punjab only if it gave 70,000 acres of Punjab land to Haryana in lieu, which was in total violation of the terms of the Accord, trust in the Centre's intention to implement the Accord was totally shaken. An impasse ensued. Barnala's Ministry lost face and its effectiveness was diminished.

Another major irritant was the incarceration of nearly 370 persons in Jodhpur jail who had been arrested from the Golden Temple complex in June 1984. It was rightly believed that most of them were innocent and the Central Government was detaining them for political bargaining. Mr. Barnala's efforts to have them released did not succeed. This resulted in further loss of credibility of both the State and the Central Governments and the violence in Punjab continued to gain momentum.

In the second week of May 1987, when the Haryana State Assembly elections were imminent, the Barnala Government was dismissed ostensibly for being incompetent, but in fact, to gain political advantage in the elections. This ploy failed totally and the Congress party got a drubbing.

Punjab has been under the President's rule since 11th may, 1987.

3 P.M. In these two years the violence has continued to rage undiminished. Horrendous suppressive measures have been employed. The police have been given a free and unprecedented authority. Not only suspected terrorists but even suspected harbourers are rounded up and jailed. Innocent young people are killed in fake encounters. Villagers are terrorised. Panches and Surpanches are publicly humiliated and beaten up. Recently, this led to mass resignation by these people in Batala district near Amritsar. The Governor together with the Security Adviser, Mr. Rebeiro, visited the district and listened to the tales of woes of these Panches and Surpanches and an inquiry was ordered by a DIG. But, as expected, nothing came out of it. Only some of the Panches who had the audacity to complain to the Governor were beaten up by the police again. On the other hand, terrorists have turned more cruel and vindictive and carry out wanton killings. This has certainly earned them the hatred of the villagers. But, unfortunately, the use of criminals as SPOs—killer squads—by the police has created an impression that these squads are responsible for committing many of the atrocities which has further muddied the police image. The present policy of virtual police raj is mainly responsible for creating new terrorists. Now, I would just like to read out at this stage a report written by Justice Tarkunde who visited Batala, remained there for three days and visited five villages. It says:

"It is not surprising that some young boys from the families which are thus subjected to beating, torture and fake en- coun s, joined one or the other of the terrorist gangs. By all accounts police atro- cities are at present the maincause of the continuation of

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terrorism at least in the border districts of Punjab."

I feel there is no doubt that the police are killing more terrorists more efficiently. But it has achieved little success in fighting terrorism.

During these two years some feeble and insincere efforts have been made by the centre to find a solution first by foisting Baba Joginder Singh's grandson and Sant Bhindranwala's nephew Jasbir Singh Rhode who was released and was manipulated to be installed as Jathedar of Akal Takht, to make him acceptable to the extremists 44 Jodhpur detenus were released simultaneously. But nothing came out of it. Last year 138 Jodhpur detenus were released to coincide with the Prime Minister's visit to the Punjab when some economic benefits were also announced. This had little impact, and I had written to the Prime Minister predicting it. More recently, the socalled political package offered has had the same fate. The rest of the Jodhpur detenus, about 185, were first released but some were rearrested for alleged crimes committed before Operation Blue Star. The manner in which Jodhpur detenus have been released in instalments has made little or no favourable impact.

The National Security Act under which a person could be locked up for two years without trial has been withdrawn. But the other measures promised in the package about withdrawing sedition charges and using anti-terrorist laws more sparingly have not been implemented.

The visit of the Cabinet Committee to Chandigarh has proved infructuous because proper groundwork had not been done. In fact, the Prime Minister's statements have queered the pitch. One cannot help wondering whether he is serious about solving this problem or is creating a groundswell to use Punjab Accord again for the next election. The institution of the phase II of the conspiracy trial based on rather tenuous grounds at this stage has vitiated the atmosphere rather than improving it. Describing the Anandpur Sahib Resolution as being antinational, I consider, is immoral. It bears no relation with the Muslim League demand for Pakistan.

The most hopeful sign, even today, is that in spite of the chaotic political situation and continued mindless violence both by the terrorists and the State, it is remarkable that the two main communities, the Sikhs and the Hindus, in Punjab continue to live in peace and harmony, both in the villages and in the cities. They deserve our fullest appreciation. There have been no communal riots of any significance in Punjab in all these years. There is, however, much poverty among the marginal farmers and the Scheduled Castes. The economic progress has been badly affected. Unemployment among the educated youth from the villages, who have no scope or inclination to work on the farms, provide much of the terrorists' rank and file. In the two years, no worthwhile scheme has been put into practice to find them jobs. Today, there is complete alienation and total absence of trust and faith in the present Government. Except in the case of some hot-headed youth, there is no wish on the part of anybody to break away from the country. Hardly anybody wants Khalistan. The origin and history of the Sikhs are intimately actively and emotionally involved with all the important and significant events of this country. The Sikhs are not from Punjab alone. Our sacred and historic Gurdwaras and temples encompass the four corners of India. Our fight is against the Government for not

keeping faith with the community and for failing to give justice. Trying to break it up politically in Punjab has led to much hostility. If not mistreated and manipulated I am sure, a great deal of hostility will disappear. We cannot, however, ignore the present surcharged situation. We have to decide as to how we can bring back normalcy, when the democratic processes may restart.

I suggest that, after having tried toughness and failed, after having tried the bullet-for-bullet strategy which has led us to greater misery, the only answer is to try the Gandhian method of winning over by love and understanding. We have to win the battle of mind and heart. Put faith in the good sense of the people. First, release all the leaders and give them a chance to see if they can get together on a common platform. No manipulation, no favouring of the "*Ji Huzuri*"—type should be tried. Declare a general amnesty for all those people who believe in the integrity of the country. Punishment of those guilty of the November, 1984 killings will go a long way to establish the credibility of the administration and the sincerity of its intentions. But I maintain that so far no genuine effort has been made. An appeal to forget and forgive and to turn a new leaf should help. Maybe the hardcore elements will spurn all these efforts. But I am sure that the general public will accept them enthusiastically. This will eventually marginalise the terrorists. Much patience, determination and sincere efforts to defuse the atmosphere of hatred, mistrust and anguish will be needed. It will take time but has the best chance of succeeding. I feel the Government will have to take the above-mentioned preliminary measures to establish its *bona fides* and credibility. Only then an all-party meeting at the national level will be worthwhile.

Lastly, the democrataic processes must start as early as possible, but by holding State Legislature elections first and not, repeat not, by holding panchayat elections in some of the districts only. This will be infructuous.

In the end, the million dollar question is: can we expect this act of statesmanship from this Government and that too in the year of election?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Hon. Members are aware that a Resolution is not carried to the next session; it will lapse. Bills are carried, but not resolutions. That is why the Minister will intervene at 4·30... (*Interruptions*) Now, Mr. Bansal.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a bare reading of the Resolution moved by Gen. Aurora made me believe that this discussion today would provide us an opportunity to discuss the issue threadbare, honestly and without any distortion whatever. I believed that this effort of Gen. Aurora in using his ballot for the purpose of focussing the attention of this august House on Punjab emanated from his concern for Punjab, because it is Punjab which has given him and me this rare opportunity of being Members of this apex democratic body of the country.

However, Sir, the course followed by Gen. Aurora belies my feelings, and once again we found that instead of using the occasion in the Parliament to analyse the situation to find out what have been the lapses of all of us in the past and devise means to ensure that norma-

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lacy returns to the State at a fast rate, the opportunity in fact was again used to hurl those invectives against the Government, used to again malign the Government on the oft-beaten track.

Sir, it is now ten years when fundamentalism raised its ugly head in the State of Punjab in a very vicious form and inflicted a heavy blow to the State. It has since inflicted a blow to the normal life of every Punjabi and to the economy of the State. Thousands of innocent people lost their lives. Thousands of parents have lost their children for no fault of theirs. Thousands of women have been widowed, and children, even toddlers, or phaned before they could even know the difference between the meaning of life and death.

Sir, Punjab was one of the most prosperous Staes in the country and a proud defender of its borders. Today those borders seem to have become vulnerable...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Mr. Bansal, for 15 minutes you can speak.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Twenty minutes.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDESH DESAI) : Let us try to accommodate as many Members as possible. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Sir, the borders seem to have become vulnerable.

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय समय की कुछ सीमा हो जाए तो ज्यादा लोग बोल सकेंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : ठीक है ।

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : The terrorists cross those broders with ease to pump in sophisticated arms to perpetriate mayhem in the State. Feeling insecure, thousands of families have migrated to other States. This has given an opportunity to other vested interests to exploit the situation. Sir, to put the record straight, I have to say that when the Akalis, after being rejected at the polls in 1980 and after having failed in thieir ill-conceived Morcha at Kapuri, shifted the venue to Golden Temple and gave a purely sectarian colour to secular issues, they never imagained that their resort to extreme postures would one day only relegate them to the background, that political activity would lose meaning and relevance and that a day would come when only anti-social elements acting at the behest of foreign powers would rule the roost in the State. This unfortunately, continued to happen even when a formally elected government headed by Shri Barnala came to power ofter the elections in September 1985. I would again like to remind General Aurora that after the Akali Dal's split vertically because every Akali legislator was worried more about his personal aggrandisement than the duty which the people of Punjab gave to them, it was the Congress which came to support the Government—the Congress willingly supported the Barnala Government because it was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who had entered into an Accord with Sant Longowal and wanted to do all at his command to ensure that the Akalis who had won the elections had a fair opportunity to run the Government there. But, Sir, when all the support extended to Barnala Government by the Centre failed to instil in them the political will to fight terrorism and a parallel Government came to run in the State, when even the Ministers of the Akali Dal came to support the terrorist elements, this difficult but unavoidable...

SARDAR JAGIT SINGH AURORA : Has it been proved?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : In one case yes. The action is being taken in that case and you know that. You have to go to the people only to know as to what were the activities of the Ministers there. Proof in the court strictly may not be there. But there is no secret about what was being done by the Akali Ministers.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh) : But you supported them.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Then we had to withdraw the support. It was a hard-difficult, but unavoidable decision which the Centre had to take to promulgate the President's rule in the State. It was no easy decision, but that became necessary in view of of the mandate of Article 355 of the Constitution which enjoins upon the Centre to protect every State against external aggression, against internal disturbances, and also to ensure that the Government of the State runs according to the provisions of the Constitution. Since then, the Government has fought terrorism relentlessly in the State. I will not say that the situation has improved radically. That is not the claim of the Government either. But, Sir, despite the fact that terrorism continues to stalk the State, despite the fact that there may have been an increase in the number of people killed if we were to go by mere statics, it would be unfair to deny the credit that the Government deserves, It is for the first time that the terrorists are isolated in the State, that people no long harbour the terrorists, it is for the first time now that any man date issued by the terrorists is not the law for the ordinary people. Sir, equally striking and heartening is the development that people in the State now have the courage to fight terrorists whenever there is a terrorist attack. And there have been occasions when ordinary people have had the courage to fight out with the terrorists, and in some cases killed the terorists in a counter-attack, and in quite a few cases have chased, them away.

Sir, I like any other Punjabi, of course, am aware of the telling effect of the unsettled conditions and violence in the State, and do wish to see that normalcy returns to the State. On this point, I do share the concern of the hon. Member, Gen. Aurora. But with due deference to his opinion, I cannot persuade myself to agree with him any further on the Resolution itself. He wants the House to opine that there is something wrong with the basic policy concerning Punjab. Sir, this is not the correct appraisal of the situation obtaining today. It betrays lack of comprehension of what the Centre is doing for Punjab.

Sir, before venturing to speak on the issue further, it is quite important to know as to what the Congress Government's policy on Punjab is. Sir, as I see it, and I do hope that Gen. Aurora and his collegues in the Akali Dal would appreciate it, the Government's policy is based on the firm commitment that at no rate would there be a compromise with the unity and the integrity of the country. The Government believes in sorting out political issues through dialogue and through discussion. But, I am sure, the House would agree with me that the dialogue can be held not with those whose creed is secession and whose actions are guided by interests hostile to the interests of the country. Sir, Gen. Aurora was finding some leaders supine on this side. But, Sir, it is a fact of history that it was some supine Akali leaders who once lost the initiative to the hot headed people and today are desperately trying to gain a foothold in the State politics. And to do so they do not gather the co

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rage to tell the terrorists to eschew violence. They, on the other hand, do not miss an occassion, as did Gen. Aurora here today, to plead for a general amnesty. Sir, they demand general amnesty for people who are guilty of most heinous crimes, of murders, not one or two, but even fifty. These leaders have not once spoken against terrorism. No appeal has ever been issued by them for giving up arms and declaring unquestioned allegiance to the constitution of India. The Government on its part, Sir, has often declared that it is not after the terror.sts but after thier arms. So, instead of accusing the Government and feeling satisfied that they have done their job, I suppose it is the responsibility of the Akalis more than anybody else in the State that they think seriously about the issue, and do not try to look for what gives them immediate narrow political gains. It is they who should join to fight against the menace of terrorism with determination. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, today through this discussion General Aurora wants wide ragning discussions amongst all the political parties at the national level. Sir, as I said, dialogue is the essence of democracy. It is through dialogue that the Rajiv Gandhi Government has solved many intractable problems facing the country. The Government has never said 'no' to a dialogue. Long back, much before the situation in Punjab took the present turn, the Government held a number of round of tripartite talks and on each occasion it was the Akali leaders participating in the talks who backed out and prevaricated, who procrastinate d and ultimatel y led to the turmoil that Punjab had to go through.

Sir, now again the Prime Minister has constiuted an eight member cabinet sub committee. This committee went to Punjab to meet the widest possible spectrum of people. Unfortunately various factions of the Akali Dal and variou s other opposition parties decided to boycott it. Sir, they thereby missed an opportunity extended to them to once again participate in a discussion to find out as to what is best for Punjab and as we were just informed by Sardar Darbara Singhji, the committee is again meeting the Opposition leaders today. So, Sir, when an effort as that is being made, it is not conducive in the interests of solving the Punjab problem that we again start indulging in all sorts of mud-slinging. The Governmet has never closed the doors of negotiation and I appeal to General Aurora's party in particular that they must meet the Committee and put forth their views and opinions and make suggestions for the betterment of Punjab.

Sir, it is high time that we treat this issue as a purely national one and try to solve it in that spirit. To keep repeating that the Congress stands to gain by keeping the issue alive is a travesty of facts. To say that the Congress wants to play the Sikh card or the Punjab card in the next elections is lblasphemy. No party, and I say it with all the force at my command, no party, much less Akali Dal, can equal the Congress party in its fight against terrorism, in its fight against the monster of communalism. With the responsibility to run the Union Government, the Congress (I) has been concerned with the situation in Punjab. This situation can be exploited for electoral gain not by the Congress but by certain parties from amongst the Opposition, because they want to keep the issue alive to tell the people that Congress has not been able to solve the problem, and that is where the point lies. That is the reason why they again want the matter to be delayed, and that is the reason why they are not co-operating with the Committee formed by the Prime Minister to go into the matter.

Recently, a number of initiatives were taken by the Prime

Minister to try to bring normalcy to the State. Certain provisions of law, harsh as they were, to deal with the special situation prevailing at one time, are in the process of being withdrawn or some of them have been withdrawn. Extension of the notification regarding the disturbed areas has been considerably limited, and as General Aurora was can did enough to admit, all the Jodhpur undertrials have been released. But I was surprised that he finds fault even with the release of Jodhpur detenus.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Naturally.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : I fail to understand that. The democratic process which General Aurora wants to be started in the State has already started, and as the first step in that direction, the Government has decided to hold Panchayat elections. And now General Aurora says we should not hold panchayat elections and that we should hold Assembly elections first. I am constrained to comment on that. We must really try to understand the basic concern of the Government to ensure that once we hold Assembly elections, we do not land ourselves in a position that obtained earlier when Barnala Government came to power. Panchayat elections in the State will definitely pave way for holding Assembly elections and Parliamentary elections in due course of time. I could understand if General Aurora were to demand early holding of elections to SGPC. If he feels that Akalis....

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Would you allow me a minute ? Holding of the SGPC elections is the responsibilty of the Government and it is the Government which has not ordered elections and, therefore, I think we will welcome the holding of SGPC elections, but that has to be done by the Government.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Agreed. I will not want to revel in apportioning blame. I do not. The fact is, the Government has to hold the elections, but it has to see the preparedness of the SGPC. And as I said, panchayat election is the first step in the direction of starting the democratic process in the State. Sir, because of your reminding m repeatedly to conclude, I will cut short to only say that we have not to drown the cause of Punjab in mere verbiage.

Sir, I do not want to take more time in meeting various points raised by General Aurora, at length. But I do want to say that the basic cause of the problem is that the Akalis have always misunderstood what Mahtma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told them. It is nobody's fault if they do not understand the meaning of the glow of freedom, as is reported to have been assured to them by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

श्री यशवन्त सिन्हा : पंजाबी में समझा दो, ग्लो आफ फ्रीडम क्या होता है ?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : I need not do this.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : He said it in English.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : But I am sure General Aurora and other people are there in the Akali Dal who can bring home the point to the other Jathedars there. But the tragedy remains that despite learned people being there the Akalis continue to follow that course which can only bring doom to the coutry. The question of special status as such was never assured. What they were assured was that in independent India the Sikhs would enjoy the glow of freedom. Let General Aurora stand up and say that the Sikhs in the country do not enjoy that today.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Not now. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : General Aurora said that an effort has been made to malign the Sikhs. I am sorry that again efforts are being made to whip up communal passions and feelings in the country.

As I said, this is not an occasion for us to apportion blame. I would appeal to the Akali leaders to reflect over the damage that would accrue to the cause of Punjab by their silence on condemning terrorism. Punjab is have suffered woefully a decade of blood and tears. They do not deserve this treatment. The Government is determined. It has the will to stamp out terrorism from the State. It has the determination.. (*Interruption*) Yes. The Government has the will to stamp out terrorism. The General must know the distinction between te rrorism and a normal protest or democratic expression of any view whatever it may be; it may be contrary to the view of the Government and it may be, sometimes, contrary even to what the Constitution provides for. But when it comes to the menacing threat of extinction of civilisation, I do expect General Aurora to raise his voice. He has not been to Punjab for some time. He may not choose to be there. But I will be happy if he raises his voice even from here. It will not be enough to only embark upon a course, which gives you some sort of satisfaction that you have again and again grilled the Government without finding out as to what really the things are. Fighting terorism is not the responsibility of the Government alone. I would even go to the extent of saying that Government alone cannot achieve tangible results in a crusade as this. I would appeal to General Aurora to prevail upon his colleagues in the Akali Party to appreciate the Government's principled stand on Punjab and join in the struggle with all the nationalist forces.

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो यह जनरल अरोड़ा का संकल्प है और जिस विषय पर यह संकल्प है वह एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या है और उसका समाधान होना ही चाहिए। जनरल अरोड़ा ने अपने संकल्प के अंत में कहा कि "तदनुसार सरकार से यह सिफारिश करती है कि वह उस राज्य में लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया आरम्भ करने तथा वर्तमान स्थिति को समाप्त करने के लिए एक सार्थक योजना बनाने के उद्देश्य से राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सभी राजनीतिक दलों के साथ व्यापक विचार-विमर्श करे" और पंजाब की समस्या का समाधान होना ही चाहिए।

19 मई की बरनाला मंत्रिमंडल की सरकार के बाद उसकी बर्खास्तगी हुई और 11 मई, 1987 को वहां पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू हुआ। 10 मई को वह समाप्त हो रहा है और यदि राष्ट्रपति का शासन बढ़ाया नहीं जाता तो इसका मतलब यह है कि राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां पर 10 मई को समाप्त हो जाएगा। इसकी तरफ पहले ही सरकार को सोचना चाहिए था और जो विपक्ष के राष्ट्रीय नेता हैं, उन्हें बुलाकर के बात चीत करनी चाहिए थी। हमारे नेता चौधरी चरण सिंह का जो यह कहना था और मैं समझता हूं कि अगर उनकी बात मान ली जाती तो 3 जून, 1984 को जो दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण काम हुआ, वह शायद न करना पड़ता। कोई भी धार्मिक संस्था हो, मंदिर हो, मस्जिद हो, गुरुद्वारा हो या गिरिजाघर हो, वहां पर अपराधियों को शरण नहीं मिलनी चाहिए, वहां पर शस्त्र इकट्ठे नहीं होने चाहिए। बराबर इस बात को कहा जा रहा था और यही हुआ इससे पहले जब ब्लू स्टार आपरेशन हो गया तो 17 जुलाई 1984 को तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति ज्ञानी जैल सिंह ने "सैक्टिटी आफ रिलीजन इन सैक्यूलर इंडिया" पर एक प्रसारण किया था। भारत सरकार के सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्रालय ने उसको छापा भी था।

उन्होंने स्वयं इस बात को मानते हुए कहा है :

"All types of dangerous weapons and such other things which were contrary to religious traditions were collected at these places and even used, ultimately making it difficult for the devotees to visit Gurudwaras."

He futher says, "In this context I cannot absolve those in control of Punjab Administration of the responsibility in the matter. The situation continues to deteriorate because of the laxity and carelessness."

तो मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि हमको सोचना पड़ेगा कि जो धार्मिक संस्थान हैं या जो सांप्रदायिक संस्थान हैं, उनको राजनीति में हिस्सा लेने की अनुमति दी जाए अथवा न दी जाए और इस संबंध में जो कांस्टिचुएंट एसेम्बली में 30 मई, 1948 को राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी की दुखद हत्या होने के बाद उसमें एक प्रस्ताव पारित हुआ था, सर्वसम्मति से इस प्रस्ताव को श्री अनंत शयनम आयंगर ने रखा था और श्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू ने जो उस समय प्रधान मंत्री थे, उसका समर्थन किया था। उसके बाद श्री आयंगर लोक सभा के अध्यक्ष बने। उस प्रस्ताव में जो कि सर्वसम्मति से पास किया गया था, जो कुछ कहा गया था आज तक उसको लागू नहीं किया गया है। इसलिए उसको पढ़ना यहां आवश्यक है :

"Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, this Assembly is of the opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by exercise of discretionary powers vested in any of the organs, admit or exoludes from its membership persons on groun of religion, race and caste o- any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities shoul d be taken."

महोदय, 26 जुलाई 1984 को पंजाब की समस्या के संबंध में लोक सभा में एक काम रोको प्रस्ताव चौधरी चरण सिंह ने रखा था और चौधरी चरण सिंह ने अपने भाषण में जो कांस्टीचुएंट एसेम्बली का प्रस्ताव था उसको पढ़कर लोकसभा में सुनाया था और उन्होंने इस बात को समझाया था कि गुरुद्वारों का जिस प्रकार से दुरुपयोग हो रहा है, उसको इस सरकार को रोकना चाहिए। लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ। 3 जून, 1984 को यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण घटना घटी, उसके बाद प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की बर्बर हत्या हुई और कितने ही राजनीतिक दलों के नेताओं की हत्या हुई, उनको यहां गिनाना मैं आवश्यक नहीं समझता हूं। लेकिन उसके बाद भी 24 जुलाई, 1985 को बहुत जल्दी में एक समझौता किया गया जिसका नाम रखा गया पंजाब समझौता या पंजाब ऐकार्ड। यह समझौता राजीव गांधी, प्राईम मिनिस्टर आफ इंडिया और संत हरचरण सिंह लोंगोवाल, प्रेसिडेंट, शिरोमणि अकाली दल के बीच में हुआ। इस समझौते की जो धाराएं हैं उनसे असहमति भी हो सकती है, लेकिन मेरा निवेदन यह है कि उस समझौते को बहुत जल्दबाजी में किया गया और शायद समझौता करते समय यह सोचा भी नहीं गया था कि जिन बातों के लिए इसमें तिथि निर्धारित कर दी गई है उनको हम कार्यान्वित कर पाएंगे, या नहीं, और उनको नहीं कर पाए। इसलिए मैं समझता हूं कि यह जल्दबाजी में किया हुआ समझौता था, बिना सोचे हुए समझौता किया गया था। इसकी धारा 7.3 में क्या कहा गया है :--

[श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय]

"The actual transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and areas in lieu thereof to Haryana, will take place simultaneously on 26th January, 1986."

24 जुलाई, 1985 को आप समझौता करते हैं, बिना सोचे समझे करते हैं। उस वक्त आपको सोचना चाहिए था कि जो तारीख आप निश्चित कर रहे हैं उस तारीख तक यह समझौता कार्यान्वित कर सकेंगे या नहीं। दूसरी, एक और धारा है 9.3, इसमें क्या कहा गया है--

"The construction of the SYL Canal shall continue. The Canal shall be completed by 15th August, 1986." 15 अगस्त, 1989 आ रहा है। आपने नहीं सोचा कि जो पैनल आपने बनाने की बात की है 15 अगस्त, 89 तक उसका निर्माण कर सकते हैं या नहीं। इसीलिए समझौते से असन्तोष पैदा होता है। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जो कुछ आज कर रहे हैं इस समझौता करने के पहले यदि आप विपक्षी नेताओं को बैठा कर, राष्ट्रीय विपक्षी नेताओं को बैठाकर बात करते तो हो सकता है जो आज स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है वह स्थिति पैदा न होती।

इसी तरह से असम एकार्ड है। सुबह चार बजे आप इस पर हस्ताक्षर करते हैं। यह जो सुबह के समय असम एकार्ड हुआ, यह चोरी से समझौता करने की क्या जरूरत थी। एक तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं और दूसरा प्रोमोशन आफ पंजाबी लैंग्वेज के बारे में। "The Central Government may take some steps for the promotion of Punjabi language." पंजाबी जो भाषा है, इसके विकास के लिए, इसकी समृद्धि के लिए सरकार ने इस बीच में क्या कार्रवाई की है? यह एक समझौता आपने किया है तो उसकी धाराओं को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए आप क्या कार्रवाई कर रहे हैं, इस को जरा बताने की कृपा करें।

मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा क्योंकि मेरे और मित्र भी बोलने वाले हैं। एक बात कहना चाहता हूं कि जोधपुर में जो बंदी थे उनके बारे में बात की जाती है। चिदम्बरम साहब जवाब देंगे :--
"They were not detained under any detention order: they were under trials."

आप जरा सोचिए कि पांच साल तक, पौने पांच साल तक, साढ़े चार साल तक बिना मुकदमा चलाये आपने लोगों को जेल में रखा। यह कैसा लोकतंत्र है, यह कहां का न्याय है? सन् 1953 में, मुझे याद है, जवाहर लाल जी जीवित थे। शेख अब्दुल्ला को पकड़ कर जेल भेज दिया गया। बिना मुकदमा चलाये जेल में डाल दिया गया था। क्या कारण था। मैं नहीं जानता हमारे नेता राम मनोहर लोहिया जीवित थे। उन्होंने कहा था, लोकतंत्र में बिना मुकदमा चलाये किसी को जेल में रखने का अधिकार नहीं है। अगर किसी के खिलाफ सबूत मिलते हैं तो आप उसको जेल भेज सकते हैं और अगर फांसी का प्रावधान है तो आप फांसी दे दीजिए, लेकिन बिना मुकदमा चलाये आप किसी को जेल में मत रखिये। सारे देश में डा. लोहिया के कहने पर शेरे-काश्मीर दिवस मनाया गया। जोधपुर बंदियों को छोड़ कर कोई बड़ा काम आपने नहीं किया। आपने उनको साढ़े चार साल तक जेल में रखा। इन्वेस्टीगेशन की रिपोर्ट कौन लगाता है, अदालत में चाजज कौन दाखिल करता है, वही पुलिस के आदमी जो आपके अंदर काम कर रहे हैं। उसके बाद भी प्रकाशसिंह बादल, गुरुचरण सिंह टोहरा एक आध ऐसे लोग हैं जो कि जेल में आज भी बंद हैं। क्यों नहीं आप उनको छोड़ते? क्यों नहीं आप उनको रिहा करते आप बात करते हैं लोकतंत्र की। लोकतंत्र में क्या यही होना चाहिए जो आप कर रहे हैं। लोकतंत्र में सहमति के आधार पर चलना चाहिए। सहमति के आधार पर आप कैसे चलेंगे जब बड़े-बड़े नेताओं को जेल में बंद करके रखेंगे।

दो-तीन बातें कह कर समाप्त करूंगा। एक तो प्रकाश सिंह बादल और टोहड़ा को रिहा कीजिए। दूसरे पंजाब पर श्वेत पत्र 10 जुलाई, 84 को जारी किया गया था। मैं पुनः मांग करूंगा कि 10 जुलाई, 1989 आ रही है, पांच साल बीत रहे हैं, इस पांच साल के भीतर क्या क्या हुआ, इस पर भारत सरकार को एक श्वेत पत्र जारी करना चाहिए।

अंत में हमारी पार्टी के नेता...

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : कौन से नेता हैं ?

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : मैं उसी पर आ रहा हूं। वह आपके भी नेता हैं। उन्होंने जो सुझाव दिये हैं उन सुझावों को सरकार को देना चाहता हूं। "यंग इंडिया" मैगजीन के एडिटोरियल में चन्द्रशेखर जी ने कहा है, और इसमें चन्द्रशेखर जी का एडीटोरियल पोरशन है, मैं समझता हूं कि लेफ्टि. जनरल अरोड़ा का जो प्रस्ताव है उसमें और चन्द्रशेखर जी के एडीटोरियल में वही बातें कही गई हैं:—

"One cannot condone the killings of innocent people by the terrorists. But while condemning these killings one should be equally conscious of innocent people being arrested and harassed everyday. Killings of those who killed is also painful. Human life is the same. Efforts should be made to stop it. The administration will have to prove its sincerety and willingness to find a solution to this problem by mutual discussion and by assuring the hurt feelings of the people. This is possible only when a dialogue is initiated. We will have to forget the past and try to start afresh. It is unfortunate that the Government has made it an issue of prestige and in the process complicated the whole situation. As long as this tendency persists there cannot be a fresh beginning in Punjab."

थे समझता हूं कि यह जो सुझाव है, इस सुझाव को सरकार को मानना चाहिए।

अन्त में एक बात कह कर मैं बैठ रहा हूं। आतंकवाद समाप्त होना चाहिए। गांधी और गौतम बुद्ध के देश में किसी समस्या का समाधान हिंसा से नहीं हो सकता है। सारी चीजें अहिंसा से होंगी। हमारे संविधान में जो प्रावधान हैं, संविधान के अन्तर्गत ही सब समस्याओं का समाधान करना होगा। लेकिन जो राज्य का आतंकवाद है, जो स्टेट टेरेरिज्म है उससे आतंकवाद समाप्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि समझदार के लिए इशारा काफी है।

श्री दरबारा सिंह : वाइस-चेयरमैन साहब ने अभी दो दोस्तों के, आनरेबल मेम्बर्स के, भाषण सुने हैं। मैं बहुत ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूं, सिर्फ इसकी पृष्ठभूमि आपको कहना चाहता हूं.... (**व्यवधान**)। पहले आप ज्यादा बोल लें, मैं थोड़ा बोलूंगा।

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी : जब आप चीफ मिनिस्टर थे उसी वक्त से यह सब हुआ है।

श्री दरबारा सिंह : वह भी बता देता हूं। मुझे गरम करने की जरूरत नहीं है।

[**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय)** पीठासीन हुए]

मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जिस कांग्रेस के खिलाफ आज कहा गया है उस कांग्रेस ने मूवमेंट चलाया था। 1923 में उस वक्त के प्रेजीडेंट ने, जब गुरुद्वारों को बहुत बड़ी जालिम ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट चला रही थी और उसने फ्यूडल लोगों को गरुद्वारों को चलाने के लिए बैठा रखा था तो उनके खिलाफ कांग्रेस ने मूवमेंट चलाई थी। उस मूवमेंट की मदद के लिए कांग्रेस ने एक आल इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेटी भेजी थी। श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू, श्री सैफुद्दीन किचलू और दूसरे लोगों ने

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

वहां जाकर उसका समाधान करने की कोशिश की और उसमें पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू कैद भी हुए थे । जब आप कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस ही सब कुछ करती है । हम वहां चुप बैठे हैं । आप जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस फ्रीडम फाइटर्स की मदद करने को गई, आप सब लोगों के लिए गई जिन्होंने मदद की है । अंग्रेजशाही को खत्म करने के लिए गई और इंडिपेंडेंस हासिल करने के लिए गई । चाहे कोई किसी भी पार्टी में हो, इंस्पाइट आफ कास्ट; क्रीड एंड रिलिजन, सबके लिए कांग्रेस ने काम किया क्योंकि उसने हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के लिए कोशिश की एक यह टोकन हेल्प थी, लेकिन यह जाहिर करने के लिए भी है कि मुल्क ने एक होकर लड़ाई लड़ी और इस देश की इंडिपेंडेंस के लिए, इंटैग्रिटी के लिए, यूनिटी के लिए लड़ाई लड़ी । किसी सिसेनिस्ट एक्टीविटीज के लिए नहीं लड़ी थी । आप आनन्दपुर साहब रिजोल्यूशन की बात करते हैं । इसको किसने बनाया था ? रेजोल्यूशन जो तैयार किया था वह कपूर सिंह जो कि इस पार्लियामेंट के मेंबर रहे हैं, वे आई.सी.एस. रिटायर्ड थे, उन्होंने आनन्दपुर साहिब रेजोल्यूशन तैयार किया था । मुझे वह रेजोल्यूशन दिखाओ , क्या वह सेसनिस्ट नहीं है उसमें कहा गया है कि झंडा भी होगा, कांस्टिट्यूशन भी होगा, और क्या चाहिये सेसनिस्ट के लिये । इसको नरम करके आप बयान करते रहे । लेकिन असल मजमून जो हैं, जिसे तरजुमा किया गया, अंग्रेजी से पंजाबी में, वह आप पढ़ लें खालसे का बोलबाला । बोलबाला का क्या मतलब है ? डोमिनेशन आफ सिख केन नाट बी इन इंडिया । हिन्दुस्तान एक है । हिन्दुस्तान में मुखालिफ कम्युनिटीज हैं, फिरके हैं, सब कुछ है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान एक है, इंडिया एक है। उसमें कई पार्टियां भी हो सकती हैं, उसमें कई क्रीड और कम्युनिटीज हो सकती हैं । लेकिन बतौर हिन्दुस्तान हम एक हैं इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान की अस्मिता और उसकी शान को दुबारा रखने के लिये जो कुछ किया गया है वह ऐसी बात नहीं है जिस पर जनरल अरोरा साहब भड़क उठे और कहें कि कांग्रेस ने ही सब कुछ करवाया है । मैं आपको इसकी पृष्ठभूमि बताना चाहता हूं । 1925 में गुरुद्वारा ऐक्ट बना । उसमें एकधारा है कि सरकार जो है, वह इलेक्शन करवायेगी । मैं समझता हूं कि इनको यह बात कहनी चाहिये थी कि इलेक्शन गवर्नमेंट क्यों करा रही है, वह इसमें दखलंदाजी क्यों कर रही है । उठकर कहते कि हम लोगों के बीच में गवर्नमेंट को क्यों आना चाहिये । 1925 के ऐक्ट में यह है कि हर कांस्टिट्यूनसी बनेगी डिलिमिटेशन होकर और उसमें जाकर इलेक्शन होगा, खड़े होंगे । जैसा कि जनरल इलेक्शन होता है वैसा ही इलेक्शन इसका करवाया जाता है और इस पर लाखों रुपया सरकार का बजट में से खर्चा होता है । मुझे कोई और एक संस्था दिखाओं, हिन्दुस्तान में क्या कोई दूसरी संस्था ऐसी है जिसको ऐसे हकूक दिये गये हैं, सरकार ही उनकी सारी मदद कर रही हो । पहले उनका इलेक्शन करवाओ और इलेक्शन के बाद अमृतसर शिरोमणि गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के दफ्तर में बैठकर जो डिप्टी कमिश्नर है वह उसका इलेक्शन करवाता हैं । आप उठकर क्यों नहीं कहते कि हमको नहीं चाहिये डिप्टी कमिश्नर । हम नहीं चाहते कि सरकार इलेक्शन करवाये । हम नहीं चाहते कि सरकार का पैसा खर्च हो । यह तो कहते नहीं । फिरकेदारी की बिना पर ये सारी चीजें हो रही हैं । गुरुद्वारों में, ठीक कहा हमारे जो वाइस चेयरमैन साहब बैठे हैं उन्होंने कि जब तक यह बात रहेगी, गुरुद्वारों में, मंदिरों में, मस्जिदों में से ऐसी आवाज उठेगी जो दूसरे मजहबों के लिये नुकसानदायक हो, वहां से गाली-गलौज निकाला जाये, जहां सिर झुकाया जाता है वहां गाली निकाली जाये, नफरत भरी बातें निकाली जाये तो कौन सा गुरुद्वारा, मंदिर और मस्जिद होगा। जिसको आप मानेंगे । वहां से जो आग उठी है, इसके बारे में अरोड़ा साहब वही कहेंगे, हमारा धर्म और सियासत यह

है। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूं। मैं यह कहता हूं कि किसी भी गुरू साहब ने यह नहीं कहा है कि जो उन्होंने कहा है। सभी जो लोग हैं, एक हैं, अनेक हैं, फिर एक हैं, सब जगहों पर हम कहते हैं, सेकुलरिज्म। वे अनेक हैं, लेकिन फिर भी एक हैं और वह हिन्दुस्तान है। यह कहा गया है, हमारे गुरूद्वारे। हमारे किसके? क्या वे किसी जाति-बिरादरी के हैं या सिखों के ही हैं? गुरूद्वारे उनके हैं, जो उनको मानते हैं। केवल सिख ही नहीं उनको मानते, हिन्दू भी मानते हैं। तो यह हमारे गुरूद्वारे नहीं हैं। गुरूद्वारे लोगों के हैं, अवाम के हैं और सब जाकर वहां पर सर झुकाते हैं। इसको आपको भी सोचना चाहिये। साउथ में हैं गुरूद्वारे। वहां क्यों गुरू साहब गये। ऐसा सारे हिन्दुस्तान की अस्मिता को देखकर किया है। कभी आनन्दपुर साहिब में थे, कभी दक्षिण में थे, वे सब जगहों पर घूमे। उन्होंने कोई सल्तनत नहीं बनाई, गुरूद्वारों से प्रचार नहीं किया। छोटे गुरू ने, जिस अकाल तख्त की आप बात करते हो, वहां वहां रात को कभी नहीं रहे। वहां बाहर जाकर 6 मील गुरूद्वारा था, वे वहां जाकर रहते थे और कहते थे कि अकाल तख्त मेरा तख्त नहीं है, यहां कोई नहीं रह सकता। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूं कि भिंडरवाले ने वहां जाकर क्या कुछ नहीं किया, उसकी अस्मिता और आबरू को उसने खराब किया है। आप कहते हैं कि उसने कुछ नहीं किया। आया आप भूल गये लफ्ज, वह यह कहता था कि अगर एक भी सिख टेरोरिस्ट मारा गया, तो 500 हिन्दू जो हैं, वे मारे जायेंगे। क्या यह नहीं कहा था? क्या-क्या नहीं कहा।

4 P.M. मुझे इस बात का कोई कंट्राडिक्शन करके दे क्या कुछ नहीं कहा। उन्होंने लोगों को उभारा। जब पानी का मसला आया इंन्दिरा गांधी ने पांच लाख लोगों के सामने कपूरी में कहा, तब मैं चीफ मिनिस्टर था। इन्दिरा जी ने कहा कि एक इंच भी जमीन जहां आज पानी मिलता है, वह खाली नहीं रखी जायेगी। यह ठीक है, उसके बाद अवार्ड हुआ, अवार्ड में इस पानी के मसले को किस किस ने खराब किया। आप में से बहुत से वकील हैं। क्या आपने कभी यह देखा है कि किसी कमीशन को यह कहा जाये कि अगर फैसला मेरे हक में करते हो, तो मानूंगा, नहीं तो नहीं मानूंगा। चीफ मिनिस्टर उस वक्त बरनाला साहब थे। यह फैसला हुआ था कि चण्डीगढ़ के बदले उनको दूसरा इलाका दे दिया जाये। मैं आज भी दृढ़ विश्वास और डिटरमिनेशन से कहता हूं कि क्या कोई इस बात से इन्कार कर सकता है कि चण्डीगढ़ जो है, वह पंजाब का नहीं है, मशतरका पंजाब का था, पंजाब और हरियाणा का था। यह पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने दोनों के लिये हिन्दुस्तान के पार्टीशन के बाद एक स्थान पैदा किया। रिआर्गेनाइजेशन कमीशन ने भी कहा था, यह दोनों के दरम्यान नहीं, किसी के दरम्यान में नहीं है, यह मशतरका इनके लिये बनाया गया, लेकिन जब हरियाणा और पंजाब बने तो उसकी हिस्सेदारी है। वह अपनी हिस्सेदारी कैसे छोड़ दे? उस हिस्सेदारी को लेने के लिये वह कहते हैं कि अगर आप लेना चाहते हैं, तो ले लीजिये, लेकिन उसका शेयर जो उनका बनता है, वह जमीन उनको दे दी जाये। लेकिन उसका फैसला नहीं होने दिया। यह कहा कि 45 हजार एकड़ जमीन हम नहीं देंगे, अभी थोड़ी सी जमीन ले लो, फिर जब आखिरी फैसला होगा, वह हम तब दे देंगे। यह बरनाला जी कहते रहे हैं, जिनके बारे में यह कहते हैं कि उन्होंने बड़ी साधना की, बहुत किया है। कई आदमी गैर-हाजिर हैं, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं। उनके मिनिस्टरों ने जितना आतंकवाद किया है, लोगों को मारा गया है, उतना और किसी ने नहीं किया हैं। क्या यह गलत बात है कि पुलिस और दूसरी जगहों पर ऐसे लोगों को शामिल किया गया, जो आतंकवादियों के साथ हमदर्दी करने वालों में से थे। हम आज भी उनको जाहिर कर सकते हैं। यह बात नहीं हैं कि ऐसे आसानी से कह दो कि यह तो सब कुछ कांग्रेस पार्टी अपने इलैक्शन के लिए कर रही है। मैं

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

पूछता हूं कि किस इलेक्शन के लिये हम कर रहे हैं। ट्राइपार्टाइट मीटिंग हुई, उसमें बतौर चीफ मिनिस्टर मुझे बुलाया गया कि आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं। मैंने जो बात रखनी थी, रखी। लेकिन अकालियों की मदद करने के लिये कई पार्टियों ने उनको मदद की और यह कहा कि जो अकाली पार्टी कहती है, वही माना जाये। क्यों माना जाये। गुरुद्वारों के अन्दर से, मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है, लौंगोवाल जो चले गये, मैं उनके खिलाफ कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं, लेकिन यह बात गलत नहीं है कि अकाल तख्त के सामने खड़े हो कर हजारों लोगों के सामने कसम खिलाई गई। यह कहा गया कि गुरुद्वारे को कसम खा कर हम कहते हैं कि हमें जो कुछ कहा जायेगा, वही कुछ करेंगे। वहां से आपने टेररिज्म को शह दी है और टेररिज्म उठ खड़ा हुआ है। मुझे कोई अकाली पार्टी का मैम्बर या जनरल साहब या और कोई बता दे जिनके बारे में यह कहा गया कि यह जो दो अन्दर बैठे हैं उनको छोड़ना चाहिए। मैं यह कहना चाहता कि वह बयान दें कि हम मेनस्ट्रीम में काम करेंगे और आतंकवाद के खिलाफ लड़ेंगे हमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है हम छोड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं लेकिन वो मानते नहीं हैं और अन्दर से संदेश भेजते हैं कि डटे रहो हम नहीं जाएंगे। चण्डीगढ़ में जो कमेटी गई उसके लिए सब को चिट्ठी लिखी गई, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि इसमें इंडोक्रिजुएट भी जिनको मिलना है मिलें पार्टी के लोग भी मिलें जितने मिलना चाहें मिलें लेकिन अकाली पार्टी के तीन चार फैक्शंस हैं उन्होंने कहा कि हम नहीं मिलेंगे और उन्होंने कोई भी प्रोपोजल ऐसी नहीं दी जिससे कि इस समस्या का हल हुआ जा सके, उस सब कमेटी ने आज भी पांच बजे मीटिंग रखी है। इसके इलावा प्राइम मिनिस्टर तक यह बात पहुंचेगी और इस समस्या का हल इस तरीके से ढूंढा जाए जो बायस न हो जिससे हर्ट्स पैदा न हों और नार्मलसी आ सके उसके बाद कोई और रास्ता निकाला जा सकता है। प्राइम मिनिस्टर तो तैयार है। यह कहना कि इलेक्शन तक इसको रखा जाएगा किस को रखा जाएगा; क्या है यह मसला? मसला तो आप देखिए। आप इस तरफ क्यों नहीं ध्यान देते। यह कहते हैं कि एक-एक ईंट घर-घर से गोलियों से पकने आयेगी। यह फिरकेदारी नहीं है। यह तो फिरकेदारी है। आज वह इस चेयरमैन साहब ने चौधरी चरण सिंह का नाम लिया, वे चले गये हैं बड़े अदब थे। मुझसे भी मिले हैं मुझे यह कहते रहे हैं कि आप ठीक काम कर रहे हो। इसी हाउस में कहा है। मैं उनकी बात नहीं कहता। लेकिन उन्होंने कहा था और ठीक कहा था कि रिलीजन और पालिटिक्स को अलहिदा रहना चाहिए। जब तक ये इक्कट्ठा रहेंगी, कोई न कोई गड़बड़ जरूर रहेगी। यह गड़बड़ इसी लिए है। गुरुद्वारे में जो काम करने वाले हैं वे सिक्खी का प्रचार करें हमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है, रिलीजन के लिए कुछ करें उसमें कोई रुकावट नहीं है लेकिन स्टेट का कोई रिलीजन नहीं है। जितने भी रिलीजन रखने वाले हैं हम उनके खिलाफ नहीं हैं। वे सब मानते हैं, मानें। लेकिन यह किसी को हक नहीं है कि अभी डेमोक्रेट करे। यह डेमोक्रेसी है, डेमोक्रेसी में डोमीनेशन किसी पर कबूल नहीं किया जा सकता है चाहे पंजाब में हो। एक बयान किसी को बता दें। बड़े-बड़े एक्स जजेज का नाम लेकर कहा है। यहां एक अल्फाज कहा गया था। बड़े-बड़े अखबारों में छपा। ये जनरल साहब भी शामिल थे। "साइलेंट मेजारिटी"। कौन सी साइलेंट मेजारिटी दिखाई। किसने आवाज उठाई? या यह कहा कि हटो इस आतंकवाद को? क्यों नहीं हटते? एक अल्फाज नहीं कहा आपने इनडाइरेक्टली सपोर्ट किया है टेरोरिज्म को जबकि आपने उनके खिलाफ एक अल्फाज नहीं कहा। लोगों पर बम चले हैं, गोलियां चली हैं, बेगुनाहों को मारा गया है। आप उनका नाम नहीं लेते हैं। सिर्फ टेरोरिस्टस की बात करते हैं कि पुलिस ने यह किया है। पुलिस मुकाबला न करे उन लोगों का जो लोग गरीबों, को राह चलते हुए, दुकान में काम करते हुए, रोटी खाते हुए, घर में सोये हुए बच्चों और बूढ़ी औरतों

को हल कर दें । आप इसके हक में हैं ? आप जरा सोचिए । क्यों एक तरफ ले जाते हैं । पुलिस का काम है रोके। आप दीजिए वे कौन से नाम हैं । हम देखेंगे । जिस ढंग से आपकी पार्टी के लोग बीच में शामिल होकर उनके साथ काम कर रहे हैं वे भी हम देखेंगे । आप दो वे नाम जो मारे गये हैं, जो मासूम मारे गये हैं। मासूम क्या, पोलिटिकल आदमी मारे गये हैं, कांग्रेस के मारे गये हैं, दूसरे सब लोग, सारी पार्टियों के लोग मारे गये हैं। वह ठीक है कोई नहीं लड़ा । कम्युनल रायट कहते हैं वहां नहीं हुआ । बिल्कुल ठीक है । ब्राइट प्वाइंट रहा है कि दो कम्युनिटियों में आपस में लड़ाई नहीं हुई । यह ठीक है । किसने नहीं की ? कमजोर ने नहीं की । मजबूत तो लगे हुए हैं । आपने कभी कहा कि पाकिस्तान से मदद आ रही है । इस देश को डीस्टेबलाइज करने के लिए ए टी नेशनल फोर्सेज लगी हुई हैं, कभी आपने यह कहा ? कभी ये कहा कि ये लोग हैं, इनके पीछे ताकत क्या है ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) : आप कितना समय और लेंगे ?

श्री दरबारा सिंह : 5-10 मिनट ज्यादा क्या लूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय) केवल 5 मिनट ।

श्री दरबारा सिंह : कोई बात नहीं .....(व्यवधान)

मैं आपसे कहता हूं कि मुझे आपका लिखा हुआ उपदेश मिल जाय या अकाली पार्टी का लिखा हुआ उपदेश मिल जाये कि उन्होंने कभी यह कहा हो कि पाकिस्तान से हथियार और आर्म्स तथा दूसरी चीजें आ रही हैं, इन टेररिस्टों का हम मुकाबला करेंगे । कभी एक लफ्ज भी किसी आपके लीडर ने कहा हो । लीडर तो छिपकर अंदर रहेंगे, बाहर नहीं आना चाहते हैं । माफ कीजिए चेयरमैन साहब आपने जो कहा ठीक कहा । लेकिन वे मेन स्ट्रीम में आकर कहें, आवाज दें, लिखकर दें । जो और बयान देते हैं वहां, जो चोरी छिपे बयान देते हैं कि जाकर हमारी तरफ से कह दो लेकिन यह नहीं कह सकते कि हम इस आतंकवाद का, टेररिज्म का मुकाबला करेंगे । यह नहीं कहते । वे कौन से आपके लीडर हैं । हमारे एक नहीं बीसियों लीडर हैं, और आप लीडरलेस कम्युनिटी बनाना चाहते हैं । आप यह कहें कि आज आप इस मसले का हल करेंगे । आज इस मसले को हल करने के लिए प्राइम मिनिस्टर बिल्कुल तैयार हैं । आपको बुलाया है, कमेटी को बुलाया है आप कोई उसका रास्ता निकालें यहां नफरतभरी बातें करते हैं । दूसरी कम्युनिटी को उभाड़ने के लिए, अपने आपको सेफ करने के लिए सारी बातें कांग्रेस के जिम्मे डाले जाते हो । आपने क्या किया ? आपने क्या हिस्सेदारी की जिससे नार्मेल्सी आ सके ? कोई एक बात बता दें कि हमने नार्मेल्सी लाने के लिए यह किया । मैं आनन्दपुर साहब के रिजोल्यूशन पर बिल्कुल दृढ़ विश्वास से कहता हूं कि निकालो उसको, आई. सी.एस. की । उन्होंने जो रिजोल्यूशन पेश किया था जिसको आनन्दपुर साहब में मंजूर किया गया ...(व्यवधान)

सरदार जगजीत सिंह अरोड़ा : जो मंजूर किया गया है । In the month of August, 1978 at Ludhiana. That is Anandpur Saheb resolution. That is inoperative at the moment.

श्री दरबारा सिंह : उसकी बात भी सुन लीजिए । उसमें यह आता है कि चार महकमे हैं, यह हिन्दुस्तान की, यह सरकार पर छोड़ दें और बाकी कंस्टीट्यूशन अलग होगा ।

सरदार जगजीत सिंह अरोड़ा : वह अलहदा बात है । That is for discussion and that has been discussed.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH : What do you mean by discussion ?

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Is it anti national to say that a State should have certain things ? That is all I am saying.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH : You support it ...

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Yes, I support the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of '78.

SHRI DARBARA SINGH : I do not know whether you support or you do not support. (*Interrution*) That means you are not supporting. Anandpur Sahib Resolution is very clear on this issue. Let there be a separate banner, a separate area, for the Sikhs. It is there on record. This has been diluted to this extent. to the extent of what you say now. It means four departments should remain with the Centre and the rest with the State Government and a consitution for that would be made by the same Government... (*Interruption*) what are you talking about ?

मैं यह कहता हूं कि उस रेजोल्यूशन में हम मानते हैं अगर उसमें इकानामिक्स की बात है, गरीब लोगों के लिए बात है, उसको हम मानेंगे कि ठीक है । यह हर पार्टी का काम है कि वह यह सारी बातें कहे कि सोशल, सामाजिक बात क्या होनी चाहिए । उसके लिए हम नहीं कहते हैं ।

मैं यह कहता हूं कि बेसिक प्वाइंट जो पालिसी का कहा, मैं बेसिक प्वाइंट को लेता हूं, आप कहिये बाहर कि हम खालिस्तान के खिलाफ हैं, हम टैरोरिज्म के खिलाफ हैं, हम इसका मुकाबला करेंगे । (*Interruption*)Are you a representative of that party ? You say here this much also that we are against terrorism is being helped by some foreign powers, they want to destabilise India. This is the place from where they can start all this. What is happening here ? तो इसलिए आप उस पर कहिए । लेकिन मैं और भी बहुत सी बातें कह सकता हूं जोकि मैं नहीं कहना चाहता क्योंकि नफरतअंगेज बातें मैं करना नहीं चाहता । मैंने थोड़ा सा जवाब दिया है आपकी बातों का । अगर आप बहुत पूछें, तो मैं बहुत कुछ बता सकता हूं, लेकिन मैं तो यह कहता हूं कि इस माहौल में जो आप आज रेजोल्यूशन लाए हैं, उसमें एक हिस्से पर तो आज ही वह मीटिंग कर रहे हैं । उस मीटिंग में बैठ कर वह फैसला करेंगे । जितनी भी अपोजीशन पार्टीज हैं, आप अपना सुझाव दीजिए, उसके बाद रास्ता निकलता आएगा । आपका रेजोल्यूशन तो सिर्फ उसमें ही खत्म हो गया है, सिवाए इस बात के कि आपने जितनी बातें की हैं कांग्रेस की--1984 के बारे में प्रधान मंत्री का आपने बयान पढ़ा होगा । उनके बारे में यह जितना कहा जाता है-- हिंदुस्तान की लीडर उसकी मां का शव पड़ा है, उसके पास हम सारे लोग बैठे हैं, हमारा यह काम था कि क्या हम फ़साद करवायें ? उसमें आपका तो कोई नहीं मरा होगा, हमारे तो मरे हैं, लेकिन सवाल यह नहीं है, सवाल यह है कि लोगों का एक सेंटिमेंट तोड़ा होगा उस वक्त वह तो है । प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है कि आप इनको मारो, यह बात बहुत गलत है, कांग्रेस ने यह नहीं करवाया । जिन लोगों ने यह किया है, उनके खिलाफ मुकदमा दर्ज किया है; छह को लाईफ इंप्रिजनमेंट दी गई है और 80-90 के करीब कनविक्टेड है और भी 2300 के खिलाफ केस चल रहे है वह सब कुछ इसलिए हुआ है कि जिन्होंने खराबी की है, उनकी रोकथाम की जाए ।

मैं मानता हूं कि पंजाब में आप कहते हैं कि इलैक्शन कराओ--कौन से

इलैक्शन कराओ? पापुलर गवर्नमेंट के। हम तो कहते हैं कि इलैक्शन होने चहियें—नार्मेल्सी आ गई है, क्या? आप कहते हैं कि नार्मेल्सी नहीं है, लेकिन इलैक्शन आप कहते हैं, कि वह करवा दो।

हम यह कहते हैं कि पहले छोटे इलैक्शन तो करवा कर देख लो ताकि पंचायती राज में जो जिम्मेदारी दी जानी चाहिये, मैं समझता हूं कि इससे पहले किसी ने कोई इतना बड़ा काम नहीं किया कि जो सिस्टम हैं, उसका डेवोल्यूशन इतना किया गया है, इतना नीचे लें गये हैं कि हर गांव की अपनी अव्वल क्या जरूरत है, उसकी सारी प्लानिंग नीचे से ऊपर आयेगी और उनको पैसा मिलेगा और उनके साथ यह होगा कि डिस्ट्रिक्ट हैडक्वार्टर पर आज डी० एम० नहीं काम करेगा बल्कि कोई पाये का एक और अफसर जो है वह उसके नीचे काम करेगा जिसको हम जिला परिषद का चेयरमैन कहते हैं। अगर यानी ताकत जो है नीचे जा रही है तो हम यह इसलिये ले जा रहे हैं कि हम सब कुछ अपने पल्ले डालना चाहते हैं; लोगों के लिए हैं पार्टियां सब अपने काम करती किसी ने खड़े करने हैं किसी ने नहीं खड़े करने हैं। कोई लड़े या नहीं लड़े हमें इससे क्या, उसके बाद अगर हालात दुरुस्त होते हैं तो हम इलैक्शन के लिये तैयार हैं असेम्बली के लिये भी और पार्लियामेंट के लिये भी। इलैक्शन कौन नहीं चाहता? हम इलैक्शन चाहते हैं। हम लोग जिन्होंने 40 साल में डैमोक्रेसी को पाला पोसा नहीं तो उसकी मदद के लिये जरूर खड़े हुए हैं और उसके लिये खड़े हैं और जेलों में गये हैं। इस बात के लिये नहीं कि यहां आटोक्रेसी की गवर्नमेंट हो जाये या मिलिट्री की हो जाये या रिलिजियस हो जाये यह हम नहीं चाहते। हम कोई डिक्टेटरशिप की हकूमत नहीं चाहते और न फासिज्म की हकूमत चाहते हैं हम यह चाहते हैं कि यहां सिर्फ डेमोक्रेसी कायम हो। तो डेमोक्रेसी का सिस्टम आने दो इस डेमोक्रेसी को क्यों रोकते है? आप पहले-पहले इलैक्शन करवा लो और जो आप आना चाहते हैं तो वह मुश्किल है, माफ कीजियेगा, अकाली पार्टी डिसअरे खड़ी है और कहीं उसका कोई भी ऐसा विश्वास नहीं कर रहा। वे इकट्ठे हो कर टैरोरिज्म के खिलाफ लड़ें। अब न ही वे आपस में बैठ करके फैसला कर सकते हैं। जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने पैकेज प्रोग्राम...।

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय): आप कृपया समाप्त कर तो बड़ी कृपा होगी।

श्री दरबारा सिंह: जो पैकेज प्रोग्राम दिया है यह पैकेज प्रोग्राम जो है उस पर आप बतायें कि कौन सी बात उन्होंने गलत की है? उससे ज्यादा आप क्या कहना चाहते हैं? उनसे बात कीजिये और आज का जो मसला उन्होंने उठाया, I am opposed to what he has said about the Congress (I). Otherwise, this is the occasion when we should discuss the things and see what should be done and produce it before the Prime Minister saying that in this way normaly can be brought about in Punjab where the terrorists are doing all this nonsence and indulging in anti national activities.

आप बैठिये और बैठ करके काम करिये। इसके लिये आज जो रेजोल्यूशन लाये थे वह रिडंडेंट हो गया है क्योंकि आज फिर वह कमेटी जो बैठ कर और उनकी बात सब को सुनने वाले हैं आप भी जायेंगे दूसरे लोग भी जायेंगे कोई हमें बे लायेगा तो हम भी जायेंगे नहीं तो और जायेंगे, सब जायेंगे। जो कुछ बात कोई कहना चाहता है, कहे। माफ कीजियेगा, मैं कोई उनसे, अकाली पार्टी से अपील नहीं करता, मैं तो अपील करता हूं, यहां जो रिप्रेजेंटेटिव्स बैठे हुए हैं, सारे हिन्दुस्तान से आये हुए, उनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप मुश्तरिका रास्ता निकालिये, जिससे कि वहां ना मेलसी हो और सारे हिन्दु-

[श्री दरबारा सिंह]

स्थान की राहत हो और वहां डिवैलपमेंट हो, जिससे वह सूबा फिर खड़ा होकर अपनी इज्जत और मान प्राप्त कर सके, जो कि आज तक खो बैठे हैं।

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Punjab question again we are discussing. General. Aurora has brought forward a non-official Resolution. With the wording of the Resolution I agree. This is a very important question and this question is not a question of Punjab alone. This is the major question that is facing India today.

[(The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair :]

For the last five years, Sir, this question has been hanging fire. Thousansd s of innocent people have been killed and day in and out, when the newspapers come, we read about the number of killings every day and I find that the Government is lightly handling this question. They are not handling this question with the seriousness that it deserves. I do not want to go into the details of the whole question. However, I feel that the House will agree with the contents of the Resolution as such which says that the Punjab question should be solved through discussion and proper measures should be taken by the Government. I feel that the Government is not taking it seriously and some complacency also has crept in. While the Prime Minister was speaking here, he said that the backbone of the terrorists had been broken and that only a few groups were there. I do not know the extent or how many terrorists are there or what is their strength, etc. But for the people of Punjab the daily incidents are going on. Today the number may be 15, tommorrow it will be 4. However, this is going on. And the people of Punjab are very much worried. Their life is insecure. After the Blue Star Operation, in one year they came to some agreement. That agreement has been supported by all in India who wanted this issue to be solved. But to our bad luck, what happened was that the man who signed the agreement was shot dead. And finally elections were conducted. The election showed one thing above all that the people of Punjab generally supported the accord and Mr. Barnala came to power. Mr. Barnala has been removed. I do not want to go into the politics of it. But the agreement was that within a month's period 79 people were killed and therefore there was no law and order. But now within two years what happened ? More than 3000 innocent people have been killed so that it is evident from experience that the law and order could not be maintained by the President's rule. Not only that. The Governor, Mr. Ray was saying that the Punjab question cannot be solved before the elections. He said this on the 27th of last month. What does it mean, Sir, Second, he also said that political parties have became irrelevant, including the Congress (I) Party. How can he say that all the political parties in Punjab have became irrelevant ? This way things are being handled in a bad way. Everybody can see this. The agreement has its loopholes, e'c. However, the accord was generally welcomed by all. Therefor the Government has not yet taken seriously to implement the accord. To our bad luck, I say it is not done and Governor's rule has come there.

On March 3rd, a package deal has been proposed. Really in that package what is new ? The detenus have been released. That is a good step. At the same time now the Government says that the climate can be tested only after the elections, Sir.

If the Panchyat elections can be conducted, why can't? Assembly elections be conducted? If Panchyat elections can be conducted, the Assembly elections can also be conducted without any difficulty. A situation has come now wheein the Government feels that elections can be conducted. All right, let us go in for elections. Before that, we were not sitting on the fence. We were fighting against terrorism. Hundreds of our comrades died for the integrity and unity of the nation. Therefore, we are not new to this. So, we wanted that terrorism should be fought. I am told I am wrong, the hon. Minister, Mr. Chidambaram, may correct me—that Jain Muni had come to Delhi last week. He has been met by the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Jakhar, and our Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh. He is also having some consultations and discussion in Punjab. With whom? He is having consultations with the Sikh Students' Federation and the extremists. You can correct me, if I am wrong. My point is that once our Prime Minister said that Bhindrawala is a religious leader. Jain Muni might be a religious leader perhaps. Now he is trying to do what? He is trying to have some sort of a link with the terrorists. Among the Akalis some rift is being organised so that this rift can be used by the Congress for the elections. It seems that this kind of idea is there. I do not know. As far as we see from the reports, this is not an unequivocal stand, a stand of fighting the terrorists tooth and nail but a stand of having some truck with the Sikh Students' Federation and the terrorists are taken. Who are the people being supported by Jain Muni? Jain Muni is being honoured by our Home Minister, etc. It raises doubts in my mind. Therefore, the Goernment should make their position clear. The point today is that we have made certain suggestions for the solution of the problem. We have submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister. Six suggestions were made in that. With your permission, I am reading that.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : You can take 4 or 5 minutes. Then I will give some time to Mr. Vikal. After that, the hon. Minister will reply.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN : Trial of all those who were involved in the riots following the assassination of the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, and especially implementation of the recommendations of the Mishra Commission and J.N. Banerjee Commission. You remember, Sir, that a Committee had been appointed to go into the Delhi riots. One Committee had been appointed and another committee also had been appointed. These two committees have finally brought out certain recommendations. On the basis of those recommendations, people who are to be prosecuted have not been prosecuted. That is the case. That is one demand. (2) Fresh steps should be taken to find a political solution on the basis of Rajiv-Longowal Award. (3) The Government should convene an all party conference to consider the Punjab question and to find a solution to it. Now the Government is thinking on those lines. (4) A popular grievance redressal machinery should be set up at the State and district levels in Punjab and all politial parties and Public figures should be represented in it. (5) Village defence-squads should be organised in disturbed areas and equipped with necessary arms and ammunition. We have submitted these suggestions to the Prime Minister. Now, the Government is trying to have meeting with the political parties. It is good. For that, the approach should be that the political parties should be consulted at the national level. That is not yet done.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Today at 5 o' clock.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN I do not know when it is going to be done. Only the Members of of Parliament are being invited and not the national parties. I do not know.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Leaders of all political parties and groups which are represented in Parliament, which means all the political parties are there.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN : That is of Parliament only. According to me, that is not sufficient . We want that all national parties should be invited at the party level, not from inside the Parliament. However, that was the suggestion made. Therefore, we must ourselves act upon it to see that serious steps are taken. For that, the President's Rule in Punjab should be ended. When the Government says that the Panchayat elections can be held, we want that the State elections should also be held as soon as practicable. The time-table suggested for the panchayat elections can be the time-table for the State elections too.

Sir, I must say one thing about the Akalis now. They must declare themselves squarerly that they are against terrorism. They must have to carry forward either the tradition of Bhindranwala or the tradition of Bhagat Singh and those heroes who fought for the country's freedom as well as country's unity. That point should be made clear by the Akalis without any kind of doubt. Otherwise, saying this and that, giving an *alibi* to the extremists to act upon the direction of the imperialist agencies to disrupt the country's unity is not the way. They should not act this way. However, the Government should take the Punjab position seriously. Hitherto, a lot of time is lost. And thereafter no time should be allowed to be lost.

Now, Sir, I want to invite the Government's attention to one thing if at all the Government is serious to solve the problem. There is a complaint in Punjab that police excesses are there and that innocent people are attacked by the police and the administration. Goondas and anti-social elements are also creating a havoc there in Punjab. It has to be first of all arrested. For that, as suggested in our Memorandum, People's Committees at the district level as well as the State level should be organised. Another point is that the police methods or the administration methods or the military methods are the way to find a solution to this problem. When the Government is open, the Government should openly appeal to the people and people should be taken into confidence. For that whatever commitments the Governmnt made should be honoured. The extremists are using a point that those who killed the innocent Sikhs in Delhi are being protected by the Government. Why should the Government give an *alibi* for that? The Goveinment should come forward and immediatel prosecute those people, and the suggestions given by the Committee appointed should be accepted immediately and those people should be prosecuted and cases should be launched.

Finally, Sir, I appeal that the suggestions made by the Left Parties' Memorandum should be accepted by the Government for solving the Punjab problem.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : विकल जी, अगर आप 3-4 मिनट में खत्म कर दें तो मैं 3-4 मिनट लक्ष्मन्ना जी को भी दे सकूंगा ।

श्री राम चन्द्र विकल : मैं जल्दी खत्म कर दूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभार मानता हूं । जनरल अरोड़ा जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा बिगड़ती हुई हालत में सामान्य स्थिति लाने के लिये और लोकतंत्र बहाली के लिये गवर्नमेंट कोई ऐक्शन लेवे, यह प्रस्ताव तो बहुत अच्छा है लेकिन जो उन्होंने विचार व्यक्त किये वह उनकी भावनाओं

के विपरीत हैं । मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूं जनरल अरोड़ा साहब से भी और दूसरे लोगों से भी कि हमारे देश की हालत कुछ और ही रही है । यह देश भाषा, प्रांतीयता, जाति धर्म और पार्टियों से भी ऊपर की चीज है, यह हम सबको समझ लेना चाहिये । इसके लिये जो भी बलिदान हम कर सकते हैं वह करना चाहिये ।

श्रीमन्, मुझे एक घटना याद आती है । जब प्रधान मंत्री भुट्टो ने भारत के बारे में कहा था कि सौ साल तक लड़ेंगे, हिन्दुस्तानी कुत्ते हैं, तो मोहम्मद करीम चागला जो हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री रहे, उन्होंने कहा था कि भुट्टो साहब को अपने बुजुर्गों को कुत्ते नहीं कहना चाहिये था क्योंकि हम उन्हीं की औलाद हैं । उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे पूर्वज एक ही थे । आज मजहब बदल गया है । यह उनकी भावना थी जो अरोड़ा साहब को याद होना चाहिये । हमारे गुजर समाज का जलसा काश्मीर में हो रहा था, दरबारा सिंह जो पंजाब के चीफ मिनिस्टर थे, वजीर मोहम्मद काश्मीर के लीडर थे । उन्होंने अपनी तकरीर में कहा कि मजहब बदलने से हमारी जमीर नहीं बदल जाती, हमारे पुरखे नहीं बदल जाते, जिसके माने ये हैं कि हमारे मजहब अलग हो सकते हैं, लेकिन पुरखे या पूर्वज या हमारी जमीर नहीं बदलती है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक फकीर की कविता मुझे याद आती है जो कहता था कि ये मंदिर तोड़ दो, मस्जिद तोड़ दो, गिरजाघर तोड़ दो, गुरुद्वारे तोड़ दो । लेकिन इंसान का दिल मत तोड़ो क्योंकि भगवान का जो घर है वह इन्सान के दिल में है । लोग उसको नास्तिक कहते थे क्योंकि वह कहता था मंदिर, मस्जिद, गुरुद्वारे तोड़ दो और अशांति फैलाता था, हिंसा फैलाता था । लेकिन मुझे उसकी बात आज सही लगती है । अगर मजहब के नाम पर देश को बांटा जायेगा तो उस फकीर की बातें नास्तिक नहीं आस्तिक की थी, सचमुच वह सच्चा देशभक्त था । आज इसी संदर्भ में हमें सोचना पड़ेगा कि जो मंदिर, मस्जिद या गुरुद्वारे देश को तोड़ने की शक्तियां बन रही हैं वे कहीं बाहर के इशारों पर तो नहीं हैं जो इस देश को कमजोर करना चाहती हैं । मैं अरोड़ा साहब से एक बात कहना चाहता हूं और उनको वह मालूम होगा कि हिन्दु और सिख आज भी एक हैं, दो नहीं हैं । हमारी रिश्तेदारी हिन्दुओं-सिखों के बीच में बहुत है । अरोड़ा साहब की हिन्दुओं से बहुत होंगी । इसी तरह हमारे यहां भीष्म जी आर्य समाज के गायक थे, देश की आजादी के लिए उन्होंने काम किया वह कहते थे —

गुरु तेग बहादुर त्यागी, गुरु गोबिन्द और पीर बैरागी,

तेर बालक बैरागी ।

धर्म राष्ट्र के लिए समर्पित गुरु को शिष्य का भेंट किया जाता था हर परिवार में से और उसी का नाम बदलकर सिख पड़ा । धर्म के लिए बलिदान करने वाले ही सिख होते थे । आज उनका बलिदान कहीं दूसरी तरफ तो नहीं जा रहा है, चाहे आतंकवाद में ले लें या पार्टी के नाम से ले लें या जाति के नाम से ले लें । यह प्रान्त एक राष्ट्र है । राष्ट्र का बंटवारा नहीं होना चाहिए । प्रान्त राष्ट्र से बड़े नहीं हैं । सरदार पटेल ने तारासिंह को जो जवाब दिया था खालिस्तान के बारे में, अरोड़ा साहब को वह याद होना चाहिए उन्होंने कहा था कि सच्चाई यह है कि धर्म, भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्त बनना गलत हुआ । चाहे कोई भी बन गया । भाषा के आधार पर प्रान्त होना ही नहीं चाहिए और अगर बन भी गया है तो आज पंजाब को हम छोटा पंजाब नहीं चाहते हैं, अगर अरोड़ा साहब सहमत हों चंडीगढ़ को कैपिटल बनाकर हरियाणा और हिमाचल को जोड़कर एक प्रान्त बनाना चाहिए । चंडीगढ़ तो इसीलिए बनाया गया था, वह हिमाचल, हरियाणा और पंजाब के बीच में है । किसी सूबे की राजधानी किनारे पर नहीं बनाई जाती । यह सोचा गया था लेकिन बाद में फजल अली कमीशन बना और भाषा के नाम पर प्रान्त बन गए जो कि देश का दुर्भाग्य है । उसकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए आज चूंकि विरोधी दलों के नेताओं से प्रधान मंत्री मिल रहे हैं, उसी संदर्भ में मैं विरोधी दलों से अपील करूंगा कि जैसे अरोड़ा साहब के प्रस्ताव की भी मंशा है, देश को तोड़ने की साजिशों का साथ

[श्री राम चन्द्र विकल]

न दे और साहस से उनकी साजिशों का मुकाबला करें।

महोदय अभी तक जो बलिदान लाला जगतनारायण से लेकर इंदिरा गांधी और उसके बाद जो आतंकवादियों द्वारा बलिदान हुए है उनके प्रति सदन को श्रद्धांजली अर्पित करनी चाहिए। यह सोचना चाहिए कि ऐसे बलिदान अब रुकें। यह गवर्नमेंट का फर्ज तो है ही साथ में विरोधी दलों का भी फर्ज है ऐसे तत्व जो निर्दोष हत्या करते हैं, निर्दोष हत्या करते हैं, सड़कों पर चलते हुए लोगों की हत्या करते हैं, बाजार में चलते हुए किसी घर में चलते हुए लोगों की हत्या करते है, चाहे कोई क्यों न हो, चाहे किसी धर्म का हो, किसी जाति का हो, किसी भाषा का हो किसी प्रान्त का हो उनका मुकाबला हम सब को मिल कर विरोधी दलों को और सरकार को मिलकर करना चाहिए तभी राष्ट्र अखण्ड रह सकेगा। जैसा मैंने कहा राष्ट्र धर्म और जाति से ऊपर की चीज है। हजारों साल की गुलामी के बाद हमारा देश आजाद हुआ। सन 1857 से 1947 तक की याद कीजिए कि कितनों ने बलिदान दिया। जितने महापुरुष इस देश में हुए शायद कहीं और पैदा नहीं हुए। उनकी बलिदानी से देश मुश्किल से आजाद हुआ। ऐसा न हो कि उनकी बलिदानी हम लोगों के सामने बर्बाद न हो जाए। यह हम सब की भावना होनी चाहिए। मैं उनके प्रस्ताव की भावना से सहमत हूं पर अरोड़ा साहब मैं आपसे कहना चाहूंगा कि मैं आपको उसी श्रद्धा से देखता हूं जब आपने बंगला देश के युद्ध के समय सेना की कमान संभाली थी और विलक्षण विजय आपके द्वारा मिली थी। इसी प्रकार की भावना, राष्ट्रीय स्तर की भावना आपकी होनी चाहिए खाली पंजाब तक या अकाली दल तक सीमित न रहे। यही मेरी आपसे प्रार्थना है।

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the situation in Punjab is a national tragedy. It is a national tragedy because in the year 1947, in the year 1965, in the year 1971, the unity and integrity which was demonstrated by Punjab is fresh in our memory. If same Punjab today is torn with strife that is the national tragedy. I do not go into details as to who is responsible for it. I do not want to apportion blame this side or that side. I think all parties, including Congres has to share the responsibility for this situation.

Having said this, when the package programme was annoounced by the Prime Minister, there was general relief, general welcome for the package programme. But the recent remark, or the report of the Governor is dampening the spirit of the solution which was sought to the Punjab problem. I think it was unfortunate on the part of the Governor to have come to such a conclusion that political parties have become irrelevant and that there cannot be peace etc. before the general elections. This is very unfortunate statement. I think anybody who has the responsibility of the State should have first examined the situation before sending such a report. But nonetheless, I do hope, the Government of India will not give that much of importance to it because ultimately democracy has to be restored there and democracy can be restored only with political parties. By making them irrelevant or by considering them to be irrelevant cannot solve the prolem.

I would like to congratulate Gen. Aurora on the merit of the particular resolution because at least it has triggered the Government to come forward with a meeting even today. But in this connection, I would like to mention that while it is welcome that there is going to be a meeting of the leaders of opposition in Parliament, I agree with Mr. Balanandan that there has to be a larger meeitng. Leaders of the political parties are not necessarily leaders of parties in Parliament. Therefore, it has to be followed immediately by another meeting, perhaps, with the leaders of the opposi-

tion of all political parties so that a solution could be found.

Now, a solution can be found provided a few things are done. The solution has to be political; the solution has to be social and the solution has to be economic. For the political solution, if there are detenus, they have to be released. If there are cases against any of them nobody says you release those against whom there are specific cases. But at least those agianst whom there are no cases, they have been released. And in case of those against whom there are cases, if there is no trial of their cases, there is no justification on the part of the Government to plead that the situation is not under control. Therefore, I would like the hon. Minister to take all these factors into consideration and come to a conclusion by which the situation can be restored, normalcy can be restored. And normalcy can be restored only by the establishment of a popular Government in Punjab. Therefore, there is no *alibi* for postponing the elecitons. If there can be Panchayat elections, there can be elections to the Assembly and Parliament as well. Therefore, I demand immediate Assembly elections and restoration of a popular Government in Punjab.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Mr. Vice-Chariman, Sir, we have had a number of occasions in this Session of the Rajya Sabha where we have taken the opportunity to explain and clarify the stand of the Government on the questions affecting Punjab.

The Resolution before the House is partly condmnatory and partly recommendatory. In fact, the recommendtory 'portion is one on which the Government has already initiated a number of steps. On the 3rd March, 1989, the Prime Minister announced in the House a package of measures, a package of initiatives, which, we believe, would help us find a solution to the Punjab problem. Only last week, I came before this House and explained in detail the progress made in implementing the package and I left with the impression that hon. Members were satisfied. But after hearing Mr. Malaviya, I am reminded of the proverb that you can wake up a sleeping man but you cannot wake up one who pretends to sleep.

Sir, I have, time and again, explained the situation about the Jodhpur undertrials, not detenus. I have explained the action that we have taken on the restrictions place on foreigners visiting Punjab, the action we have taken on the withdrawal of cases against those who allegedly made objectionable or seditious speeches, the action taken to bring the laws in Punjab on par with the laws in the rest of the country, the action taken to constitute the village defence organistiation, the action taken to constiute district development committees and I thought that hon. Members were more or less satisfied.

As a part of that package, we hav called leaders of all political parties and groups represented in Parliament to a meeting which will commence twelve minutes from now. Therefore, the Government is surely moving along a path which has been chalked out after a very careful consideration and a great deal of deliberation. I regret that many of the remarks and observations made by the mover of the Resolution, General Aurora, bear no relation to the Resolution before the House and, hence, in my humble opinion, do not deserve an answer. General Aur-Aurora, I regret to say, revealed a mind uniformed by facts, unenlightened by discussion and filled with prejudice.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : I think that is very rude. You have got to prove it. I object to it. (*Interruptions*) There is no reason for you to be rude about it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I have not said anything unparliamentary.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : It may not be unparliamentary. But it is very rude. I object to it.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : You may object to it. I also object to what you said. (*Interruptions*) I only said you were uninformed by facts.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : It is totally wrong. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM: Sir, I am entitled to say that his facts are wrong. (*Interruptions*)

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Am I entitled to say the same thing against you ?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I say, uninformed by facts and unenlightened by discussion. And it was filled with prejudice against the Central Government. I am entitled to say that.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Nothing wrong in this. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I have got what I have said. I have said :

"Uninformed by facts, unenlightened by discussion."

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: This is very derogatory. I would like it to be removed.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : All I said is, filled with prejudice. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Lakshmanna, what is it? He is raising the point and I am answering . The Chair will give a ruling.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Earlier I have ruled that* will be expunged. I have asked them to expunge the words*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : If he is willing to withdraw those words, I am willing to withdraw the words 'unenlightened by discussion'. I am willing to withdraw.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA: You are attributing motives to the individual.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am not attributing motives. I am only saying, uninformed by facts. (*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : The Mishra Commssion itself has laid... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Where are the aspersions?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Mr. Aurora, I have understood properly. That time you spoke of the Congress of Punjab and not of Delhi.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : The discussion should be an enlightened one. (*Interruptions*). You see what words I have used. I have carefully selected the words. I have got them written down. I have said : "Uninformed by facts. The speech was filed with prejudice." Then I have said that I am prepared to withdraw those words if he is withdrawing the words *
I am withdrawing the expression 'unenlightened by discussion, if the expression* is withdrawn. (*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Are you Congress? You are not Congress. You are attacking me individually.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Let us continue The time is very short.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : You can say, the Akali Dal is uninformed by facts. That may be all right, but you cannot say to an individual that General Aurora is uninformed.

SHRI MOSTAFA BIN QUASEM (West Bengal) : How can the word 'Congress' be unparliamentary?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM If the hon. Members can say*

*Not recorded.

I can say that all our discussion has not enlightened him.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA :*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : You said* . If he maintains* , I am entitled to maintain my words.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA :*

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : I have heard him properly. At that time he used the words* . You take my instructions. (*Interruptions*).

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : I am trying to blame the entire Congress.

I am saying,* . (*Interruptions*)

I have said.*

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : If he says,* , I will maintain that he is uninformed by facts and I will maintain that his mind is filled with prejudice against us.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Are you saying that I am prejudiced against Congress? I accept that because there is nothing that the Congress has done right. I think it is but natural that I should be prejudiced.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : Sir, today the focus is on initiating the democratic process. We have had the benefit of discussion with leaders of political parties in Punjab. The Akali Dal—several factions of Akali Dal——of course for reasons best known to them, did not participate in that meeting. I do not know if they will accept our invitation to participate in the meeting this evening. I sincerely hope they will. Member after Member stood up and said, dialogue is the essence of democracy. Now I cannot say how we can have a dialogue if people who claim to represent a substantial section of the people of Punjab boycott an invitation for dialogue and, instead of dialogue, they set store by diatribe. Diatrive is the dealth knell of democracy, and I just say that from the various factions of the Akali Dal there has been no response to our invitation to a dialogue. On the contrary, there has only been diatrib against the Congress and the Central Government.

Sir nobody has said that the situation in Punjab has returned to normal. In fact, it would be naive to expect that the sitution will become normal overrnight. Only last week I said, and I wish to say that again : We have set in motion a process. A major turning point in the history of Punjab was operation Black Thunder through which we flushed out terrorists from the Golden Temple and, after that, the Gudwaras in Punjab have been free from terrorists. Terrorists no longer take sanctury in Gurdwaras.

(The Deputy Chairman in the Chair)

Madam, the second quarter of 1988 was the worst in terms of killings of innocent people. But the third quarter was better than the second quarter, the fourth quarter was better than the third quarter, and the first quarter of 1989 was better than the last quarter of 1988. Still, I said it last week I say it again. the numbers do not give us any comfort. As long as one innocent person is killed by a terroritst, Government cannot claim to have restored normalcy in Punjab. At the same time Madam, I must take this opportunity to disabuse a popular impression that the law and order sitution in Punjab is worse than before or the crime situation in Punjab is worse than the crime sitution in the other parts of the country. Unfortunately, much of ordinary crime is mixed up with terrorist crime. Take, for example, this morning's newspapers. Six people of a family were killed. It was a purely family quarrel. Seven people of another family had been killed earlier, and that family took

*Not recorded.

[Shri P. Chidambaram]

revenge upon this family and six members of this family have been killed. The papers, of course, will club it with terrorist crime and it call it, "Six members of a family killed : total 15." Look at the crime situation. Take murder. I will give you only one example of murder. in 1987, there were 1,383 murders in Punjab. There were 1,728 murders in Andhra Pradesh, 3,583 murders in Bihar and 1,413 murders in West Bengal. Madam, I do not have much time ; I will deal with major crimes together—murder, rape, kidnapping, dacoity and abduction. In 1987 it was 2,752 in Andhra Pradesh, 3,207 in West Bengal, 5,698 in Bihar and 1,748 in Punjab... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR (Bihar) : And all according to population?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am not drawing any final conclusion. All I am saying is that the crime situation in Punjab is no worse or no better than the crime situation elsewhere, and much of what goes by the name of terrorist crime is really only the other kinds of crime. Now, terrorist crime must be segregated from ordinary crime and we must see whether there has been an improvement in dealing with terrorism. I say, there has been an improvment in the last six months, in the last nine months. Yet, I would be the first to say is nobody is satisfied as long as one innocent person is killed by a terrorist. Certainly the Government cannot lower its vigil. The Government has to be alert and has to take firm action against terrorists.

5·00 P.M.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : When Mr. Barnala was in Government, what were the comparative figures? He was made to go.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I am answering you. We have admitted that the number of people killed has increased in the last two years. I have said so many times. At the same time you must also admit that the whole situation in Punjab had got very complicated thanks to Mr. Barnala's rule. thanks to the compromises he made with terrorism, thanks to the weak-kneed policies that he followed.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : You had two full years to set that right.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : It is after two full years that we have Operation Black Thunder. It is after two full years that we have resotred a measure of security in nine districts of Punjab. In 98 police stations. out of the 212, there is not a single terrorist crime in the last year. It is after two full years that we have had the confidence to restore ordinary laws to Punjab. It is after two full years that we have had the confidence to release the Jodhpur under-trials. It is after two years that we have now taken of measures to bring the laws in Punjab on par with the laws in India. It has taken two full years to repair the damage done by the Barnala Government as long as he was there. It has taken us two full years to do that. (*Interruptions*) Madam, are you allowing him to speak?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, I am no allowing. I have only allowed you to speak.

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : We have initiated the democratic process. We have initiated the process of consultation. I once again appeal to all political parties to join the Government in this effort. Mr. Balanandan read six points. The memorandum given to us in Chandigarh contained four points. On all the four points we have taken action.

There may be some quarrel about the kind of action that is being taken on Delhi riots. But again at the risk of repetition let me read : 225 cases have been sent to trial involving 2,319 persons ; 93 cases involving 379 persons have been disposed of. This has ended in conviction in eleven cases involving 80 persons. Of course, 68 cases involving 231 persons ended in acquittal or discharge, but there are 132 cases involving 1,950 cases which are pending. We have issued strict instructions to the Director of Prosecutions, Delhi that these cases must be prosecuted quickly. On the other three points we have taken action. The village defence organisation is being set up. The Governor told me this morning tha the District Development Committees will be announced in Punjab today ; if not today, it will be announced tommorrow. On the process of consultation with the Opposition parties. the meeting must have commenced two minutes ago. I would only appeal to all hon. Members representing various political parties to keep faith in the Government's course, to lend support to the Government, to give us concrete solutions, to give us good ideas. Let us together fight the menace of terrorism in Punjab and let us once again take Punjab to its old glory.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Madam...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Time is over. You would not reply in two minutes.

SARDAR JAGJIT SING AURORA : I beg your pardon.

THE DEPUTY CHIARMAN : The Private Members' time is over.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: It is grossly unfair that remarks have been made by the Minister about me personally and that I should not get a chance to reply even.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Do you want to give a personal xplanation?

SHRI P. CHIDAMBARAM : I have made no personal remarks.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : You can guillotine me. I think I had the right to reply various questions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have the right to reply if there time was available. Now, that the Private Members' time is already over by four minutes, we have to have the reply of the Minister for Information and Broadcasting to continue.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA : Thank you very much all the same, but I do wish that I had a chance to tell him what I feel about it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can write to him.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: There is no point in writing.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING—*Contd.*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Minister. You continue with your reply.

SHRI H. K. L. BHAGAT : Madam Deputy Chairman, as I said in the morning the hon. Members in this House have shown keen interest, very rightly and expectedly in the discussion on the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I am quite happy about it that they took interest and made a number of points. The media remains under constant attack. This gives me no surprise. This does not disappoint me. It is as it should be. This even helps me. Let me make it